

In fact

For The Millions Who Want a Free Press

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George Seldes, Editor

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If Your Name Is Addressed in
Red See Page 3

Re-entered as second class matter March 12, 1941, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879.

By Public Demand

IN Elmer Davis's first Office of War Information report (Aug 8) appears the following paragraph: "Popular pressure for action on this front or that of the many possible fronts can serve no useful purpose." Nevertheless British labor, and a majority of the people (by Gallup poll) demand a Second Front in Europe in August, when only some 200,000 Nazis are there, rather than an attack in 1943 when 2,000,000 or more will be there. American labor leads American public opinion for a Second Front.

Has the layman any right to make military demands? In Britain in 1916 Lord Northcliffe's Daily Mail demanded that Premier Asquith resign, Lloyd George take over, the War Ministry supply the right kind of shell which the brass hats had failed to do. All this happened. Later, Kaiser Wilhelm made the famous remark: "The Daily Mail won the war." Popular clamor was right, it was more intelligent and more patriotic than brass hat muddling.

Cabling from Moscow Aug 7, PM's Ben Robertson criticizes Quentin Reynolds of Collier's and Kenneth Crawford of PM for their Second Front views, saying these newsmen represent decisions of "certain people who advise our gov't" and "certain school of generals who advise the British gov't." The brass hats who predominate in most war departments refuse to take risks. They say there is not enough shipping. Nat'l Maritime Union president Curran says there is.

Treason Charge

WHEN London paper exposed shell shortage, concentration on wrong type, it faced possibility of being charged with treason in publishing military secrets, but Northcliffe took the chance, and saved Britain. However, when American newspapers printed secret War Dep't plan in December and make-up of US fleet in Coral Island battle in June, they were betraying military secrets for no patriotic purpose. Moreover, Col McCormick of Chi Tribune and Capt Patterson of NYD News have enough military experience to know that under no circumstances are military technical facts divulged.

IN FACT told readers (Dec 22, 1941) that publication by Chi Trib, NYDN and Washington Times-Herald of US mobilization plan 3 days before war, was given by Hitler as one of his reasons for joining Japan. IN FACT (July 27) said these three papers either informed Japan in their Coral Islands story that US Navy had obtained code—a great betrayal of a US secret—or the story was one of the many lies carried by these papers in the past years. Now US Navy declares US secrets were actually divulged, demands that Tribune, News

A Second Front Next Wednesday, By Upton Sinclair p. 1

Why Labor Is Against Technocracy Movement p. 3

Anti-Poll Tax Bill Nears a Vote p. 4

(One of America's great writers contributes following statement, the layman's view of the Second Front. Sinclair took time off from new novel, which concludes four-volume story with history of the world since Armistice as background. Third volume was "Dragon's Teeth." Sinclair wrote "The Brass Check" in 1920, first book to expose corruption of American press.)

By Upton Sinclair

WE CONFRONT at this time perhaps the greatest crisis in the history of mankind. No one who thinks at all can help thinking about it. Are we really going to win this war? And when and how? Is there any chance of Russia being knocked out, and if so, can we save her? It comes down to the question: Can we open a second front on the European continent? And when and where.

In the Readers Digest for August the war correspondent Allan A. Michie discusses this problem. He gives us what I take to be the military facts and figures on this crucial question. The nature of his argument is indicated by the title, "No Second Front Next Tuesday." This turns out to mean no second front any Tuesday for a year or so.

The reasons are that we haven't the trained men, we haven't the materials, and above all, the transportation. To land an army on the northern French coast, I quote: "the United Nations' invasion force would have to number at least 45 divisions, or 675,000 men, in order to achieve a minimum of superiority. If the Germans manage to increase their defending troops to 100 divisions—and we must prepare on that assumption—the combined British-American invasion force will have to number 150 divisions, of 2,250,000 men."

And then the question of ships: "To move 45 divisions from British ports to France, it is estimated that we would need well over 6,000,000 tons of merchant shipping. . . . And remember that we would be more likely to need 150 divisions than 45; that at least a million and a quarter of the men to make up that force would have to be transported all the way from the United States. If it takes some 6,000,000 tons of shipping to transport 45 divisions, where would we get the shipping to transport 150?"

The Danger of a Nazi Victory in Russia

Having made these overwhelming statements, Mr. Michie concludes his long article with one paragraph in which, it seems to me, he throws away his entire case. He says: "Every military, industrial and communication factor points to some time in 1943 as the first possible date when the American-British combination will be adequately prepared to start an invasion of Europe on a large scale. Only if the Russians are in extreme danger of collapsing before then should we be forced to gamble on another Dunkirk."

But that is just what everybody is arguing about, Mr. Michie. Maybe the Russians are in extreme danger of collapsing at this moment, and how are we to know about it? How are we going to judge? When France collapsed we didn't know that she was going to collapse, we only knew it when she collapsed. And how can we know today when the hard-fighting Russian armies are going to fire their last shell and their last cartridge. Suppose we go to the radio next Tuesday and hear that the Russian armies are being routed and forced to surrender? Then we will realize that we made a tragic blunder in failing to open a second front the previous Tuesday.

I am not a military expert, and I cannot recall that I have talked with a military expert in my life. But I have been studying this second World War for the past eleven years—ever since it began with the Japanese invasion of Manchuria. I have read libraries on the subject, including the opinions of many experts, and while I have read I have been thinking. I am venturing to offer what may at first seem a strange suggestion: that we go to the opposite extreme from Mr. Michie, and instead of moving 45 divisions from British ports to France, or possibly 150 divisions, we move just one division and see what hap-

pens. We begin by sending our air force across the channel and bombarding all German defenses along, say, a five-mile strip of the French shore and a few miles inland. Then in the night we rush across our division of 15,000 hard-fighting volunteers, equipped with machine guns and trench tools. We keep them covered with an umbrella of airplanes, and they dig themselves fox-holes and then trenches, and there they are, and there they stay for as long as we keep them supplied with food, water, ammunition, and replacements.

What happens to them? The Germans rush in and overwhelm them with tanks and artillery, we will say. But how are these Germans to come? They have to travel on roads, they have to come in trains or trucks, or march in columns; and as far back as 1937 we learned at Guadalajara in Spain that masses of troops marching to the attack can be extremely vulnerable from the air, we are going to send everything we have in the way of air bombers and fighters to protect that division in France, and the Germans are going to have to expose themselves to one of the greatest of military dangers. You understand, I am assuming that at that very short range we shall be able to maintain effective air control at all times, day and night; we shall keep enemy planes out of the sky over our division, and we shall incessantly bomb and machine gun all enemy units and apparatus that approach our bridgehead.

A Slaughter Pit for the Nazis

Mind you, the Germans have to come. They cannot let our division just stay there, for if so, it will fortify itself, it will establish an airplane base in the center of its bridgehead, and most important of all, it will serve as an anchor for a submarine net across the Channel, such as we had in the last World War. So the Germans have to come and fight. In effect the division serves as a bait. The surrounding territory becomes a slaughter pit for the Germans and they have to come into it. It does them no good to come at night, because our planes drop flares that turn night into day. Our planes can fly the short distance across the Channel a dozen times a day, which means that each will be equal to a dozen planes. At present the British are sending bombing planes enormous distances into Germany, some 500 miles, to kill people in Rostock, for example. But here we command the Germans to come and be killed at a distance of only 50 miles—and those which we kill at our bridgehead are just as good Germans as those we would kill at Rostock.

We are told about the huge guns from the Maginot line which the Germans have turned around and which they would bring up to pulverize our division. But once a big gun has been fired its position is known, and we have bomber pilots who have been able to drop bombs on Japanese destroyers, and who report that it was like shooting fish in a barrel. Couldn't they hit those Maginot guns? Couldn't they hit the great tanks which the Germans would send up? It seems to me they could if there were enough pilots, and if we gave them enough bombs.

The point of my argument is simply that so far we have been fighting where the Germans commanded us to fight instead of our commanding the Germans. The Germans have attacked Leningrad and Moscow and thereby commanded us to send our bombs and tanks from New York to Archangel by way of Iceland, a distance of well over 5,000 miles. The Germans are threatening Alexandria and thereby compelling us to send our bombs and tanks from New York all the way around the Cape of Good Hope to the Suez Canal, a distance of well over 14,000 miles. And yet we complain of a shortage of ships. One ship to England is equal to two ships to Archangel, and equal to five or six ships to Suez. Why do we let the Germans compel us to waste our ships? We have been able to send our military supplies and our troops to England so far without losing a ship or a man, so the Navy tells us. Surely if we had a big enough airplane umbrella we could continue to supply our one division on the French channel coast.

A Million Britons Would Volunteer

Of course, we should lose many of those 15,000 men. But think how many Germans we would kill! My guess is that if Britain called for volunteers she would have a million, and that if we called for volunteers the number would be equal to our total military force now in Britain, which is a military secret. Our boys would just love to do it, and they would keep the Germans coming and coming and being killed as they came.

Of course, it might not work out that way; but wouldn't it be worth trying? I think I am correct in saying that it has never been tried in the history of the world. We have had plenty of forlorn hopes in this war: Norway, Greece, Crete, Bataan, are the classic examples, but in all these cases the enemy had the mastery of the air. What I am proposing is just one experiment with a small force which has the mastery of the air and keeps it continuously day and night for as long as there are any Germans left to be killed. I am contending that the cheapest way to kill them is with projectiles from the air varying in size according to circumstances from machine gun bullets to two-ton bombs. I am pointing out that the shorter the distance you have to fly, the more bullets and bombs you can carry. And I am saying that we have the power to command a good part of the German army to come to the place most convenient to us and there have our bullets and bombs dumped on to their round shaven heads.

I am saying that the only way for the Germans to save themselves from this

and Times-Herald be investigated. Att'y Gen'l Biddle has ordered Federal Grand Jury investigation. The Tribune is yelling "freedom of the press," same slogan raised when gov't demands fire escapes in newspaper offices or anyone suggests taxing advertising.

Courts will decide whether McCormick and Patterson are guilty of treason. Meanwhile their papers spread defeatism. Editorials daily are aimed to depress American civilian and army morale by forecasting long war, many deaths, etc. They print lies about dictatorship, no elections, coming wars, war aims. They follow the line of the Berlin and Rome propaganda radio stations. This is not treason but defeatism, for which there is a death penalty in other countries.

Toward a Labor Daily

AT Chicago convention of great United Auto Workers Union a step was taken which if carried through may change the whole newspaper situation in the US, free the people from the daily barrage of lies to which they are subjected. The UAW, now at the peak of its power, with a membership of 612,000, voted to act immediately to establish a daily labor paper. The UAW is now the largest single union in US; if it carries through its purpose, and the paper meets with the success it should have, it is not difficult to see other big unions following suit, and eventually a great coast-to-coast daily labor press arising, supported by its readers, serving their interests and the welfare of the country.

Labor-Baiting-As-Usual

UNCEASING attacks on labor, the Roosevelt administration and anything liberal continue in commercial newspapers from Maine to California.

A careful study of how a newspaper deliberately persists in fomenting discord appears in The Labor Leader, official AFL paper in San Diego. It reprints photostatic copies of excerpts from 11 disruptive editorials appearing in the daily San Diego Union in a fortnight. The Union is a Republican mouthpiece.

What the 11 editorials did is described by The Labor Leader as follows:

"Appealed to hatred, pitting bosses against labor, labor against its leaders."

"Ridiculed Mrs Roosevelt . . . to emphasize the weaknesses of democracy and its leaders."

"Repeated attacks against the President and the other leaders of the nation. . . Followed the Fascist party line of seeking to show that our leaders are incompetent."

"Vice Pres Wallace was the object of a particularly vicious attack, perhaps because the Union realizes Wallace is the champion of the little people."

"Accused national leaders of 'fighting a social and economic war on the home front.'"

"Constant attacks on Congress . . . to pave the way for popular distrust of anything that comes out of Washington."

Death From Serum

SIXTY-TWO deaths among the 28,585 cases of jaundice developed among US Army men Jan 1 to July 4, were reported by Sec'y of War Stimson to his press conference July 24. A yellow fever serum was blamed. Stimson re-

ported a change in the form of vaccine which will eliminate trouble in the future.

The news has given the anti-vaccine organizations the most powerful ammunition they have had in years. Cash Asher, president Nat'l Serological Society (Davenport, Iowa) and Citizens Medical Reference Bureau (NYC) are distributing literature indicating a considerable campaign against vaccinations, inoculations, Wasserman tests. Engineer C F Dingman writes that the American Medical Ass'n policy of making them compulsory is "a phase of Naziism." (IN FACT notes activity of anti-serum movement, takes no sides in medical controversy.)

Col McCormick's Chicago Tribune, which never loses an opportunity to sabotage American Army and civilian morale in this war, ran sensational stories and articles. Journal of American Medical Ass'n (Aug 1) declares 2,000,000 to 2,500,000 were vaccinated; vaccine has been modified; jaundice will be eliminated, and "the Chicago Tribune has done a disservice to American medicine. Certainly by the fears it may create among soldiers now being inducted into our armed forces it will injure morale and make more difficult the task . . . to meet the challenge of our enemies." Journal also states "The American Army has always been the most healthy army in the world."

For Musso & Pegler

LABOR'S Non-Partisan League of Connecticut is keeping up its demand that all state papers drop Westbrook Pegler's anti-labor column in the name of national unity—Pegler is accused by the Newspaper Guild and the CIO of being a divisionist, divisionism being one of Hitler's 15 activities in foreign lands, according to gov't publication "Divide and Conquer." Among Conn papers which refused to drop Pegler are Bridgeport Post and Telegram. Editor who refused is Geo C Waldo. Post is notoriously anti-labor. Waldo is a Fascist. Because of Waldo's fine work in behalf of Italian Fascism, Mussolini sent Waldo a gold medal which was awarded him in Jan 1940. Fascist Consul DeCicco of New Haven and a delegation of Italian and native Fascisti, many of whom are now under FBI surveillance, attended ceremonies in Waldo home. Waldo is not the only American editor who favored Fascism.

How Poll Tax Works

IN the 1940 elections:

In 40 states without a poll tax, seven out of ten eligible voters voted.

In the eight poll-tax states, two out of ten eligible voters voted.

Hamilton County, Tenn., has 45,000 registered voters; fewer than 11,500 can vote.

If your name is addressed in red and your code number is:

68* or 28 THIS IS YOUR LAST ISSUE

69* or 29 You will receive 1 more issue

70* or 30 You will receive 2 more issues

71* or 31 You will receive 3 more issues

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fate would be to send more airplanes than we have and to drive our planes out of the air. At the present time General Rommel is calling in vain for planes, and the RAF is getting almost no opposition in France; so it is obvious that most of the planes the Germans have must be on the Russian front. If the Germans want to overwhelm our experimental division, they will have to take great numbers of these planes away from the Russian front and send them to France. Thus our "second front next Wednesday" will have saved the Russians from the "extreme danger of collapsing." Q.E.D.

WHY LABOR IS AGAINST TECHNOCRACY MOVEMENT

TOTAL conscription of men, machines, material and money—the four M's which win a war—was urged in a full-page ad by Technocracy Inc, which appeared in leading newspapers March 8. Technocracy urged immediate conscription of all males and females over 18; conscription of all national corporate wealth, banks, trusts, insurance companies; conscription of all telegraphs, telephone and radio communication systems, public utilities and power producing and transmission systems; conscription of all patents, inventions and processes extant in our national domain, whether of foreign or domestic ownership.

All of these items were approved by many labor unions, liberal and progressive organizations.

Technocracy also urged the closing of all public bars, the limiting of sale of beer, wines and liquors. This point met with mixed reception.

Technocracy also urged the abolition of all foreign language press and organizations, not differentiating between pro-Axis and pro-United Nations press or organizations. This point met opposition from loyal Americans of foreign birth and from civil liberties organizations.

Technocracy urged unified command of the armed forces.

Since there was no mention of the people who are the majority in America, i.e., the "labor reservoir" of 52,000,000 men and women of whom the most progressive and intelligent are organized in trade unions, guilds and brotherhoods, the Federated Press which serves the liberal-labor publications of America (including IN FACT) interviewed Howard Scott, main founder and present head of Technocracy. Federated Press made a slight error about the Technocracy salute, over whether it was the outstretched hand or military style, and scores of readers, mostly from California, wrote indignant letter to IN FACT blaming this publication for implying the Technocracy salute was Fascist in style.

However, what was important in the Scott interview was the statement on labor, which Federated Press and many labor papers it serves found unsatisfactory.

Technocracy's Anti-Labor Program

IN FACT now has the August issue of the Technocrat in which the plan of total conscription for victory, which all enemies of Fascism have approved, is stated more fully than in the advertisement.

Immediately following the proposal to conscript all citizens, the following two paragraphs appear:

"Total conscription requires that the government of the United States 'quick freeze' all corporate enterprise and all labor union structure for the duration of the war and six months thereafter.

"Total conscription calls for the suspension of all dividends, profits, interest, rents, union dues, and taxes, and for a moratorium on all debt and litigation for the duration and six months thereafter."

We state as facts: 1), that Technocrats have written to say that they do not consider Howard Scott's view on labor anti-labor; and 2), that we have the statements of numerous labor leaders which denounced the foregoing plan as absolutely anti-labor. Labor leaders denounce any "quick freeze," pointing out that in many industries and sections of America wages have been substandard, and that the President and Chairman Davis of the War Labor Board have announced in favor of wage raises where pay is substandard; also, that labor believes that it is entitled to wage raises to meet mounting cost of living. Labor leaders to whom IN FACT showed the Technocracy statement calling for a suspension of union dues replied that this would mean collapse of the labor unions and would accomplish at one stroke what Hitler and Mussolini took years to accomplish: the destruction of the labor union movement.

IN FACT presents the Technocracy statement and the reactions of labor leaders as facts. Technocrats are advised to take the matter up with Howard Scott, their chief, not with this publication. Technocrats who wrote IN FACT saying that many labor leaders endorse Scott's Technocracy are challenged by officials of the Connecticut Labor Non-Partisan League, to whom IN FACT showed their letters, to name one CIO leader who endorses Technocracy. The CIO speaks for 5,000,000 union men and women, and none of its leaders whom we have questioned knows of any members endorsing Technocracy, to say nothing of leaders.

Representative of progressive labor opinion of Technocracy's Fascist-like propaganda, is this statement, made to IN FACT by Saul Mills, secretary of the Greater New York Industrial Union Council, with 500,000 members:

"Hitler's Naziism and Mussolini's Fascism were sold to the unsuspecting

people of Germany and Italy as 'social dynamics.' I have read the plan put out by Technocracy and it isn't even subtle as a pattern for the emergence of Fascism during this war period. Technocracy is giving the same kind of pro-United Nations lip service that is to be found in the Hearst and McCormick-Patterson newspapers. American workers, organized in their strong AFL, CIO and Railroad Brotherhood unions, will not fall for this kind of demagoguery. American workers, men and women in the forefront of the war against Fascism on the battlefield and on the production line, know the score. It certainly doesn't add up to Technocracy."

ANTI-POLL TAX BILL NEARS A VOTE

THAT hoary anti-democratic monstrosity, the poll tax, is being slowly but surely backed up against the wall. Only 18 more signatures are needed to discharge the Geyer anti-poll tax bill from committee and bring it to a vote in the House. Meanwhile in the Senate the Pepper bill made headway in day-long hearings by the O'Mahoney Committee, when the constitutionality of the legislation was sustained by eminent constitutional lawyers, whose contentions were not seriously challenged.

The Geyer bill has been buried in the House Judiciary Committee, which is headed by poll-taxer Hatton Summers of Texas, since 1940. Hearings were held by a sub-committee, after which the committee not only refused to report the bill, but took the extraordinary step of prohibiting printing the record of the hearings. The late Rep. Geyer introduced a discharge petition, which has lain on the Speaker's desk, accumulating signatures as labor lent its powerful support to the measures. The minimum required to get the bill out of committee is 218; the latest report is that 200 signatures have been obtained.

Labor—AFL, CIO and Railroad Brotherhoods, have long been in the forefront of the fight to repeal the poll tax, contributing funds and exerting pressure on Congressmen to force the bill out of committee.

A curious parliamentary situation exists in regard to the Geyer discharge petition. As late as July 28, with the signatures for the Geyer Petition mounting rapidly, Representative Joseph A. Gavagan of NY threw a monkey-wrench into the proceedings with a press statement saying in effect that the Geyer bill was dead because of a technicality. "Even though the Geyer petition receives the necessary 218 names," Mr. Gavagan said, "it can never successfully reach the floor of the House for the reason that the resolution provides that on the day following the adoption of the rule the speaker would be compelled to recognize the gentleman from California (Geyer) to call up his resolution. Unfortunately Mr. Geyer is dead and the speaker of the House, under the protection of the rules of the House, could refuse to recognize any other member. Hence, the whole proceeding would be a nullity and the friends of the legislation would be outwitted and deceived."

Committee Explains Parliamentary Situation

Since Mr. Gavagan claimed that but for this technicality he would sign the petition himself, and he has an anti-poll tax bill in committee too, we asked the National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax, in Washington, to clarify the situation. Sylvia Beitscher, executive secretary, tells us:

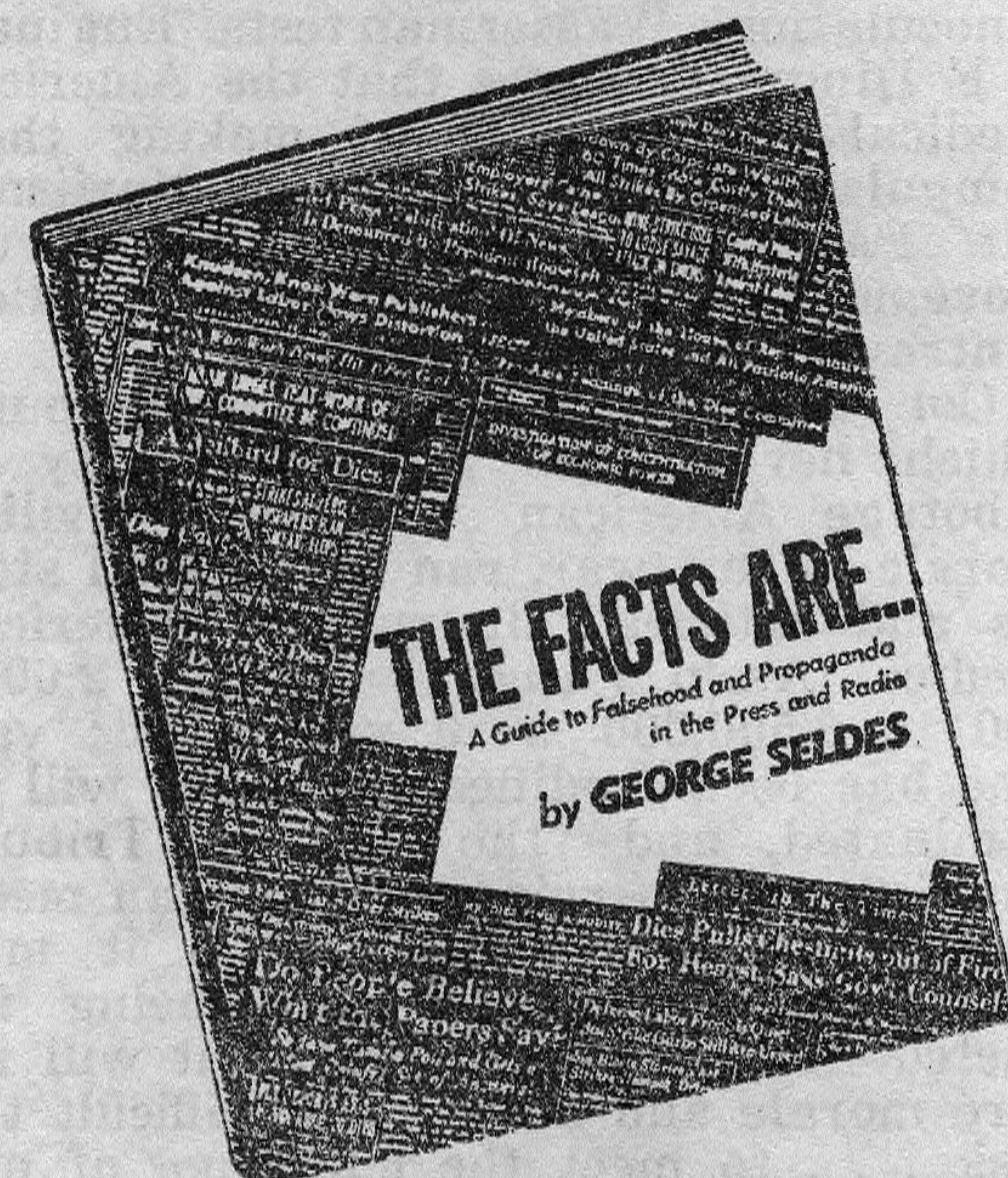
"In addition to the discharge petition to release the bill from the Judiciary Committee which Mr. Geyer had placed on the Speaker's desk, he also introduced and had passed a resolution saying that when the 218 signatures were secured on the petition, the Speaker should recognize the gentleman from California, Mr. Geyer. After Mr. Geyer's death, Congressman Tom Eliot got a ruling from the Parliamentarian that any other person who had signed the petition could call up the bill. On this basis we went ahead and have now secured 200 signatures to the petition to bring the Geyer bill out.

"As soon as we heard of Mr. Gavagan's contentions, that the bill was dead due to Mr. Geyer's death, Tom Eliot made a further inquiry of the Parliamentarian. We were told at that time that any other member of the House who had signed the petition could bring out the bill but this must be done by unanimous consent. Due to the opposition of reactionaries like Rankin, we would not be very likely to get this unanimous consent but at the same time we understood from other of our friends in the Congress, that John McCormick, Majority Leader of the House, had said that due to Mr. Geyer's death, the bill would revert to the regular rules of the House and while it might not be called up under the specific resolution naming Mr. Geyer, it could be called up by any other member of the House who had signed the petition.

"There has been a great deal of discussion on this point, and we have had a number of meetings of the Committee. The unanimous verdict has been that due to the varying opinions of the parliamentary technicality, we should go ahead on our petition and try to get it reported out. At the same time asking Congressmen also to sign the Gavagan petition, so that in the event our bill should be thrown out on a technicality, we could immediately mobilize our forces behind his bill.

"Senator Wagner has advised the New York Congressmen to sign both petitions. We feel that if our bill is overruled on a technicality of this kind, it would really be a boomerang on the side of poll tax repeal."

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